UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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What Life Has Meant to Me

By CHARLES F. DOLE

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II. Chapter XX. By M. K. GANDHI

The American Dictator in the Philippines

By V. G. BUNUAN

British Labor Party Differences

By CHESTER C. PLATT

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII | MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1927 | NUMBER 22

OUTLAW WAR!

Mankind, it seems, hates nothing so much as its own prosperity. Menaced with an accession of riches which would lighten its toil, it makes haste to redouble its labors, and to pour away the perilous stuff which might deprive of plausibility the complaint that it is poor. Applied to the arts of peace, the new resources commanded by Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century might have done something to exorcise the spectres of pestilence and famine, and to raise the material fabric of civilization to undreamed-of heights. Its rulers . . . thought otherwise. When pestilence and famine were ceasing to be necessities imposed by nature, they reestablished them by political art. The sluice which they opened to drain away each new accession of wealth was war. . . . Europe tore itself to pieces. . . . The victors compared their position with that of the vanquished, and congratulated themselves on their spoils. It rarely occurred to them to ask what it would have been, had there been neither victors nor vanquished, but only peace.

—R. H. Tawney,
in "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism."

Credit one smashing victory to temperate, determined, sane public opinion in this country! We refer, of course, to the outcome of the Mexican-Nicaraguan affair. Just what the administration thought it was doing, or going to do, in this affair, nobody will probably ever know. When one looks at "Nervous Nelly" in the State Department, one feels perfectly sure that there was a real case of "scare" in that witless branch of the national government. This impression is borne out by the series of statements given out day after day in explanation of what was going on in the Caribbean. In their futility, their self-contradiction, their utter baselessness, in fact, these official and unofficial announcements were obviously the fruit of panic. Furthermore, Secretary Kellogg seemed at least to be sincere as he fumbled and foozled his silly talk about the "reds." On the other hand, however, there is the possibility that the administration was acting deliberately to the end of accomplishing a clearly thought-out purpose, and was only a little more clumsy than usual in its dishonest camouflage. One easily adopts this interpretation when one looks at the little man in the White House, and thinks of the hands that pull the puppet's strings. The forces that have long wanted to despoil and annex Mexico saw a propitious moment for the job, and resolved to put it through. That's the explanation, isn't it? Nobody knows! But whatever the real facts, the administration has been utterly and permanently routed. Credit for this victory for sanity belongs, first of all, to Senator Borah, who manifested in the crisis a combination of wisdom and courage which marks the flood-tide of his career to date. Credit belongs to the newspapers which for once kept their heads, avoided sensation, and thus refused to be stampeded. Credit also belongs to certain church leaders who acted promptly and decisively. But most of all credit belongs to public opinion, which swept over Washington in one vast flood of protest against the idiocy and moral treason prevailing in high quarters. "Snowed under" was the caption of a New York *World* cartoon, showing the State Department as a prostrate man buried beneath the piling drifts of a blizzard of public anger. For once the people have saved themselves!

It is tolerably evident that the beginning of the end of foreign intrusion upon China has come. If the disturbances and upheavals and civil wars in China are not evidence enough of this fact, the new policy announced by the English Foreign Office supplies whatever may be lacking. Let one thing be set down to the everlasting credit of John Bull—and that is, that he is ever willing to make concessions and adjustments—even do justice, when he has to. What has really been going on in China all these recent years, of course, is a great national uprising of a patient and humiliated people. What the Chinese have been willing to endure, without resentments and reprisals, is the marvel of the ages. Missionaries, traders, soldiers, opium, liquor, disease, the Bible—all have been thrust upon a people who were civilized when the western barbarians were still savages, and who now have a culture described by such men as Bertrand Russell, Count Keyserling and others, among the most precious of all time. But now, as we have said, the beginning of the end is at hand. The civil wars are nothing but the inevitable disturbances incident to the

awakening of a new national consciousness and the creation of a new national life. The ominous uprisings against foreigners are only so many notices more or less rudely served upon westerners that they have got to get out. The day of concessions, spheres of influence, protectorates, treaty pacts—all so many fine phrases for sheer, unadultered conquest and spoilation—is gone forever. Henceforth, the Chinese propose to control their own country, run their own affairs, do their own business in their own way. England saw the handwriting on the wall, and promptly recognized the "Bolshevik" government at Canton, announced that "no more foreign control on an unwilling country" could be tolerated, and prepared to revise the famous occupation treaties. The sooner other western countries do the same, the better. Mrs. Partington's attempt to sweep back the Atlantic was not more desperate than would be any attempt to stem or resist the rising hordes of China.

We hear little latterly of the much-needed reform of the schedule for the meeting of our national legislature. The 69th Congress drags out the present futile session. Its only possible excuse for being is the passage of necessary appropriation bills. And these should be enacted by a body which can deliberate more intelligently than can the present Congress. Either President Coolidge's recommendation of biennial appropriations should be heeded or some other measure adopted to dispense even with this last excuse for the hold-over of a legislative body which the vote of the general electorate has deprived of rightful franchise. Even the lame ducks who make up a large proportion of the present Congress appear to sense the folly of their attempting constructive legislation after the people have told them to go home and stay. If the new Congress, elected last November, were now in session it would be possible during this short term for the members to shake themselves together and at least start concerted thinking. The representatives and senators chosen last November will not actually meet to do business until next December, thirteen months after their election, unless the President is forced into calling them in extra session against his judgment and against the unanimous sentiment of the country. By the time they regularly meet, according to the present provisions of the Constitution and the law, almost anything may have happened to incapacitate them from accurately expressing the people's will. The present program was adopted when Kentucky and Arkansas were as far from Washington as Honolulu is now, and California was farther away than the Philippines. Events move much more rapidly now than they did then. Issues which might then survive for 13 months may be dead as the dodo in these hustling times of the auto, the express train, the radio and a universal press. There should be more talk of re-ordering the schedule of Congress, and, better still, prompt and decisive action.

The Federal Trade Commission estimates the total wealth of the United States at 353 billion dollars. Who owns this wealth? The Committee on Industrial Relations (1916) estimated ten years ago that 2 per cent of the people (the rich) owned 60 per cent of the wealth, that 33 per cent (the middle class) owned 35 per cent, and that 65 per cent (the poor) owned the remaining 5 per cent. The more recent figures of the Federal Trade Commission indicate a still higher degree of concentration of wealth in a few hands. Indeed, this process has been going on in the last few years at a rate to startle the natives, if they only knew something about it. Meanwhile, taking the precise figures of a decade ago, in order to err on the right side, it may be well to estimate what such a distribution of this world's goods really means. It means, in the first place, and most important, that a little over 2,000,000 Americans own more than all the other 110,000,000 put together. It means, again, that one-fiftieth of our people own more than all the other forty-nine fiftieths. It means that the wealthy 2 per cent of Americans own over 200 billion dollars worth of property, while the poor 65 per cent own less than 20 billion. What such a distribution of wealth means to our American democracy should be obvious to everybody who has had even a smattering of education. For wealth means money, money means economic power; and economic power means political power. The 2 per cent who own so much more than their share, therefore, are something more than owners merely. They are *rulers*. They are the "invisible government" behind the visible government which controls the destiny of the nation. What is done in Washington is done not at the people's behest but at the dictation of the wealthy, and in the interest not of the many who earn but of the few who own. This is not democracy, but plutocracy. Hence the warning spoken years ago by Abraham Lincoln to his friend, Joshua Speed:

> It has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored and others without labor have enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue.

By the time this is printed the Norris-Chipps murder trial in Texas will be over and the famous

Fundamentalist preacher will have been acquitted of guilt in the shedding of his brother's blood. He will return in triumph to his pulpit, and his devotees will swarm about him in fulsome applause of the "pure gospel" which will pour forth in the accustomed torrents from his eloquent lips. He will continue to fulminate against the outlaws and criminals who dare doubt the final and inviolate sufficiency of the Jehovah of the Hebrew Judges and of King David and his associates in the cave of Adullam. He will be specially unctuous in his commendation of the divine providence which freed him from the machinations of his own detractors. He will make it appear a monstrous thing that anyone should assume that he, the foremost champion of the truth once delivered to the saints, actually belongs behind prison bars or that his neck might appropriately be decorated with the hangman's noose. It chances that on one of the days when this trial was crowding forth upon the front page of the newspapers a parallel front-page column was claimed by the final decision in the Scopes trial. The right and duty of the sovereign state of Tennessee to protect the minds of its youth against such profane persons as Mr. Scopes and other vile evolutionists was cautiously affirmed by the court. But further persecution—perhaps the term employed was prosecution—of Mr. Scopes himself is forestalled by the same high authority. A technical error by the judge who fined him is made the occasion of saving Mr. Scopes and his friends their hundred dollars, and of saving the face of Tennesssee legality. The device proves much more effective to the former than the latter. The rest of the country will continue to think its thoughts about Tennessee justice, and Tennessee's legislators. How much less glorious Fundamentalism has become of late! Its doughtiest champion in the Southwest is sadly bedrabbled, and its legal bulwark totters.

Compact and self-contained German colonies which prevailed here and there in Greater New York ten and fifteen years ago are now reported to have disappeared. Those who have analyzed the situation do not altogether credit the world war and anti-German antipathies with the achievement. These doubtless played their part. Good comes even out of Nazareth. We earnestly hope that none will be tempted to inaugurate another world war for the purpose of dissipating other of our too compact and too self-contained racial groups. The price is too great. But the end is beneficent in the case of the Germans and is to be desired in the case of other alien colonies. We need the leaven of all for our lump. But we need them as leaven, not as hard, rigid, insoluble lumps in the larger lump. The old German immigration which constituted these unassimilated colonies was essentially alien. It had been hammered into insolubility in the civilization from which it emanated. In preserving the culture which they brought with them these early migrants were perpetrating an anachronism even upon themselves. As one commentator observes, "their music, their dances, their whole mental and cultural horizon, belong to a world that has passed into history." It is believed that more recent German immigrants have been a powerful influence in the breakup of these colonies. The German newcomers have found their compatriots of earlier migrations "quaint . . . wild and un-German. . . . The new German immigrants . . . find America and Americans quite to their liking. They are aware of no gulf between themselves and the young people of this country. Therefore, they are less eager for exclusive societies and a transplanted life. In all essential respects they see in America a world very like the one they have come from." This is not the first time that fevered attempts to cultivate inter-racial or inter-group hatreds have been frustrated by the discovery of affinities which have awaited the shock for their revelation.

A wonderful magazine has come to us from Geneva, Switzerland. It is a new monthly publication called the *Review of Nations,* "an Organ for Pan-Humanism and Spiritual Freedom." It is headed by a message from Mahatina Gandhi, as follows:

> Mr. P. asks me for an article or 'message' for your magazine. I haven't a moment to spare for writing an article. What message shall I send you save to say that my nationalism is intense internationalism. I am sick of the strife between nations and religions.

This message is followed by a long series of impressive articles, some in French and some in English, among the authors of which we find Englishmen, Frenchmen, Japanese, a German, a Pole, a Swiss, an Indian—and an American, Mr. William Pickens, the well-known Negro leader and orator. These articles are followed by editorials and comments on world events, notices of books, etc. The introductory article by the Editor, Mr. Felix Valyi, describing "our intentions, our ideas and our hopes," we print in full this week in "The Field," so that our readers may know at first hand the plans and purposes of those who have launched this important international enterprise in the journalistic field. The *Review of Nations* is beautifully printed, and its contents are worthy of its appearance. It is interesting to note that among articles promised for early publication is one by Mr. Holmes, on "Religious Thought in America."

What Life Has Meant to Me

To Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
All pray in their distress,
And to these virtues of delight
Return their thankfulness.

For Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is God our Father dear;
And Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is Man, His child and care.

I am about eighty years old, and I have had much happiness. I have had a fair measure of health and have enjoyed a pretty constant use of my senses and faculties. I was born into a loving home and inherited clean and honorable traditions and habits. I grew up with good books and good people around me, I was taught not to be ashamed of any kind of useful work, and I had the opportunity to acquire such an education as to open the doors of choice toward a noble life work.

I married one of the most true-hearted of wives — frank, sincere, generous — who always looked for the best that was in me. We had children who brought great satisfaction and the least possible anxiety. We have lived together to see the light of promise in the eyes of our grandchildren.

I have loved the face of Nature and have seen repeatedly, in various lands, scenes of the most exalting beauty and grandeur. I have had beautiful friendships with affectionate, high-minded, fearless, unselfish men and women, not a few of them richly endowed with gifts of accurate thought, efficient powers of expression, quick and genial humor, benevolent sympathies, and a broad outlook upon human life. They have brought a wise, cheerful and constantly trustful report touching the vast mysteries of the universe, to which we men must be akin, or else we could not find it so fascinatingly interesting. Yes! I have found the world very wonderful and most rewarding to every endeavor, however humble, to learn to know it better.

True! I could shade my story a good deal. I have hardly known thorough bodily health. I have a cynical and pessimistic side of my nature. I have known not a little blue melancholy; I have had a keen sense of the contrasts of life. I have drunk of the cup of sorrow and disappointment. My highest desires for usefulness have not been fulfilled. I fear I was not worthy of what I most wished to do. It is well so. I belong to the average multitude of men, the remembrance of whom must be brief.

I was never much of a sinner. What people call sin seemed ugly and foolish. But I have found in myself, as regards the two dreary items of egotism and selfishness, a typical brother of pretty much all humankind at its worst. Why call this encumbrance *sin?* Call it rather the fact of our brutal inheritance. We do not love our baby less for his having to learn to outgrow this animal in him. How could we ever be mature men without having first been something less than men? Let us be honest about these things with ourselves and our children, and especially in our treatment of those whom we have tried to put away from us as "criminals."

I return then and thank God for a happy life. I should be ashamed to say less. At my best, when my brain is clearest and memory opens her great doors, I can never say less. I say this now for a special reason. I have the best gift of life yet to add. It gathers up all the rest into unity. For I seem to have been given a sort of magic wand with which, as I hold it up, all things and events catch a wonderful light. This is no secret in the sense that a few only can discover it. It is an open secret spread out for every man's view. Few, however, appear to observe it as yet. Briefly, it is this: It is the idea of a marvelous and universal order in which each man is made to be one with the author and father of life and one with the infinite universe. The man is a sharer of the creative power and intelligence. All is alive.

This idea came to me first in the simple form of a will, righteous and perfect, which my little will must obey. Once seeing this, how could I wish anything else or less than to go with this infinite will? It was a will to truth, to all beauty, to goodness, to every high value which the mind can grasp. It was the substance on which depended the welfare and fulfilment of the creation, and therefore of all human well-being. Unity and order shone out here straightway where else chaos prevailed.

As I look back now over my life I find that I owe everything to this magnificent conception. It made ever increasing significance and worth out of all kinds of material that entered into my developing life. It gave rational explanation to things which otherwise seemed quite obscure. It was as if I looked now from above upon what I had hitherto only seen from beneath. Thus, it took up every human or ethical relation in things great or small, from my daily and personal duties to the vast complications of human history and the growth of an international civilization, and wove them together,

like an overwhelmingly splendid and moving drama, into a realm of beauty, and never of beauty alone, but of beneficence also,—of truth, beauty and goodness,—the great three that constitute spiritual unity in man no less than in God.

I seemed moreover to be shown that even what men call evil, so far from being outside the universe or alien and hostile to it, must somehow be a part of the victorious process wherein the guiding will actually makes "all things to work together for good." In short, the simple words: "Thy Will be Done," mark the beginning and end and climax and directive clue by which the acquiescing heart and soul and mind, that is, the whole nature of man may and does at all times have access to the very secret of the movement of the all-creative Life. The spirit is that reality in us which rationally says that prayer: "Thy Will be Done," over every meaningful act or motion of life, and saying this fits it into place in the great order. Whatever good men have ever meant or found real in prayer is comprised and interpreted in this one prayer or outlook of the spirit. In this attitude we are most alive and intelligent; in this we have both peace and power.

This thought makes human life essentially constructive, creative, practical, enlivening, God-like. Life is that which shines through and pours out light and love. Life at its best is a mighty social tide of circulation by which the Good Will, flowing in each, makes itself manifest to the other in intelligence and recognition, in appreciation and sympathy, in aspiration and joy, wherever the connecting wires run. The worship of God and the service of man is to help keep the flow of good will open and pure, constant and effective.

The demonstration of life is to live abundantly; the demonstration of God is to live as children of God, that is, with open minds, filled with intelligence, with increasing gladness in every creation of beauty from flowers and gems to poems and symphonies, with deepening respect, wonder and fellowship for every little child. The realm of the spirit is the kingdom of heaven here and now, wherever spirit moves and we share in the motion.

All this seems to me extremely simple and transparently true, the longer I live. I call it my religion; I find no contradictory religion. It seems to me the secret of the reality that lay behind every religion that ever made men's eyes gleam with trust and hope. I find it wherever I meet a genuine man, or the commonest of men at his best. In all sincere mutuality we are sharers with God, as when we breathe the air of the hills.

This religion of activity and trust dispels fears and anxieties. The pattern and meaning of life which we cannot understand from below discloses itself when seen from above. What have we to fear in a world whose ruling power is the Good Will? Who regrets what his own good will, the kernel of his life, bids him say or do? Or again on occasions forbids? Who desires anything better than what the good will directs? A thousand times what at first was blank perplexity or threatening defeat,—mere noise and confusion,—presently afterwards turned out to be a clear interpreting voice of peace and renewed good will to men. What service in this world or any imaginable world can be so satisfying as the service of order, of beauty, of all kinds of ingenious workmanship, of manifold usefulness and varied sympathy, and all under the unity of the universal Good Will!

Does anyone say: "Suppose all this vision of life, fine as it is, is only a dream." But I am incompetent either to reason or dream this majestic vision away. It keeps coming back. Like the sunshine, it brings light whenever it returns. It does not behave like a dream. It fits together and fits facts and matches them and tells truth, as the substance of integrity. It challenges my reason and every other man's, and commands us to try it and prove its reality.

Do you ask me now whether I think well enough of this strange human life to choose to live it over again if I could? Now, we men, as befits the children of the infinite, never wish to repeat our blunders and errors and humiliations. This would mean not to have learned anything. We are born to adventure, to seek and accept risks, to hunger and thirst after righteousness. We desire to reach more and greater heights of experience, which means ever more wisdom and love. The good will is that of which no one can ever have too much. We stand then facing the mystic gate with a great trust. We scorn life as not our life, as not man's life, where the great values, justice, mercy, pity, peace and love do not shine forth, sovereign throughout the universe. We see not how these values can ever die. We confide in the Giver and Sharer who planted them in our natures. Let us sing with Browning, even close to the shadow of death:

> For life, with all it yields of joy and woe
> And hope and fear,—believe the aged friend,—
> Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love,
> How love might be, hath been indeed, and is;
> And that we hold thenceforth to the uttermost
> Such prize despite the envy of the world,
> And having gained truth, keep truth: *that is all.*

CHARLES F. DOLE.

Jottings

All men have faith. There is no unbeliet. Atheism, so-called, is theism with a *minus* instead of a *plus* sign before it.

Ernest V. Sterry has been arrested in Toronto, on a charge of blasphemy, for attacking the Bible. If you are looking for a genuine case of blasphemy, however, take a look at the Rev. J. Frank Norris, the Texas clergyman, when on trial for the murder of D. E. Chipps, who sent to his "multitude of friends" this message from the Psalms:

> The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?

The consistency of our "wet" friends is something to marvel at. Here is the New York *World*, so "wet" that you have to dry it before the fire in the morning before it can be read, advocating the suppression by police action of the pornographic literature that is now flooding the news-stands. *But*—suppression by police action is *Prohibition!* Why prohibition of nude pictures and lewd stories, and not prohibition of the infinitely more disastrous liquor traffic?

Charles Evans Hughes is one of our great men—one of those supreme geniuses, like Elihu Root, before whom men bow down in reverence, and of whom they speak in awesome whispers. Yet it is this same Charles Evans Hughes who selected Mr. Kellogg to be his successor in the State Department.

"The great newspapers still have the confidence of the thinking people of this country," says the New York *World*. Evidently pretty doubtful about it, and wondering how long it will last! Even so, we think the *World* is wrong. The "confidence of the thinking people of this country" in the newspapers was sadly shaken during the War and after, and it is going to take more than one journal like the *World* to restore it.

Name one simple evil, say the Outlawry of War advocates, which was gotten rid of by any other process than that of law! Name *one!* If you can't name one, why not concede that war must and may be gotten rid of by exactly the same process? If we outlawed piracy, slavery, the duel, why not war? J. H. H.

Mexican Notes

(Editorial Correspondence)

This has been an exciting day. To understand Mexico at all, one must keep in mind that Mexico since 1910 has been undergoing very swift changes—a revolution. In the morning I was in a conference with some of the representative American missionaries who have been in Mexico from 10 to 40 years—doing educational work or preaching the "gospel." At one o'clock there was an hour's interview with Luis V. Morones, head of the department of Commerce, Labor and Industry. He is one of the strongest men. He knows oil in Mexico.

After that we spent two hours with three bishops (two of them being archbishops) who answered 14 questions that had been handed them previously in writing. It was dramatic—from Morones to the bishops—and sudden, from the subject of oil to religion. There was an added dramatic touch, when Rabbi Isaac Landman, editor of *The American Hebrew*, took charge of the questioning. The bishops—Bishop Pascual Diaz, Archbishop Miguel de la Mora San Luis Potosi and Archbishop Leopold Ruiz—were all born in Mexico, one of them being a full-blooded Indian. It was a striking scene—a company of forty people from the United States, the most of them Protestants, entering into close conversation with three Mexican bishops, with a Jew acting as presiding officer.

Next, we visited the Sarah Keene School, where we met twenty or thirty American religious workers. They seem to be an earnest and intelligent body of people, devoting the most of their time to education, with faith in the people of Mexico, having an air of uncertainty, however, as to just how long their services would be needed.

Last, a visit to the studio of Diego Rivera, celebrated Indian artist. He sat down and talked with us for over an hour about his motive and his work. He spent five years in Paris. He said that he was seeking to express the soul of the Revolution. He would not paint at all if he could not do this. In line with his ambition, the government gave him the walls of the corridors of the national education building, where he has been at work for three years, expecting to finish there in five more. I know of no work like it in all the world. Starting from the ground floor, he has painted staircase, walls, etc., with a story of Mexican labor and education, in home, field, shop, mine, lake; thus making of the walls of the national education building one huge allegory of a contemplated society in Mexico, based on the farmer and worker who, coming up through education, will build a social structure of intelligence, peace and prosperity.

The interview with the bishops was really a dramatic incident, and would be hard to duplicate anywhere in history. Rabbi Landman addressed the bishops, "We have come to find the true conditions in Mexico, that we may

interpret them to our countrymen. We wish to get the Church's point of view. We have come on a mission of good-will, and to bring about a better understanding in the United States." A response was made by the bishops that they would be glad to give such knowledge as might be required.

Q. *Why are the priests not functioning today, in Mexico?*

A. Because the priests would by so doing be subject to civil authorities. It would reduce the Church to subjection and thus break up the Church universal.

Q. *What are the facts in regard to church property?*

A. Officially, there are no churches in Mexico. The clergy are disfranchised. They can not take up collections. The buildings are owned by the government. The churches are not allowed to own their own buildings, such as hospitals, schools, etc. They are threatened by confiscation.

Q. *Has the Church asked that all its buildings be given back, therewith agreeing to waive all rights to other property, such as lands, endowments, i. e., all property outside the buildings?*

A. Yes.

Q. *What is the attitude of the Church in regard to the attendance of children, in the primary school (public)?*

A. Would prefer to have the children go to the Church schools, where possible. Otherwise, to the public schools.

Q. *What has the Church done for the children in regard to education, who live in the rural districts, during the last fifty years?*

A. They have been taught the catechism. There have also been many schools. No complete statistics exist.

Q. *What about hospitals?*

A. There have been hospitals in almost every parish. As a regular thing people have been afraid of hospitals. There were 12 hospitals in the City of Mexico. They have all been seized by the government and have disappeared.

Q. *If the Catholic Church had done its duty, why is there so much illiteracy in the rural districts? (This question introduced a long discussion among the bishops themselves.)*

A. There have been too few priests, viz., 5,000 in a population of 15,000,000. The Indians are notoriously disinclined to education. Further, the parents wanted their children to work, rather than to study. Before the church was despoiled, when there were 5,000 priests in a population of 7,000,000, the illiteracy was less in Mexico than in England.

Q. *What is the attitude of the Church to the non-Catholic organization of workers?*

A. The Church prohibits its members from joining organizations, to join which their consciences would be violated.

Q. *Since August 1st, what provisions have been made for conducting services? (It will be remembered that the government required all priests to register. They all, except a negligible few, refused, on the ground that this would be an acknowledgement of subjection of the Church to government. The government decided that the government buildings—the churches—could not be used by priests that did not register. Then, came the refusal of the priests to function in the churches. There occurred the so-called "strike.")*

A. The bishops have been constrained to authorize services, in private houses. The government has impeded these services, even in the sacraments, has levied fines on the owners of houses.

Q. *What privileges did priests have before 1857?*

A. There was then union of church and state. The priests wore vestments outside the temples. They were free citizens.

Q. *What evidences are there of religious persecution?*

A. Bishops have been confined to Mexico City. It is impossible to make a distinction between religion and the hierarchy, which the government seeks to do.

Q. *How are the funds of the Church being handled?*

A. Parishioners are giving small alms, for necessary expenses. These are administered by neighborhood committees.

Q. *Was the Church back of the boycott?*

A. The Episcopal committee limited itself to calling the boycott lawful.

Q. *What effect has the present situation on the membership of the Church?*

A. The people approve the stand of the hierarchy. They hope, they will attain their liberty. There has been a growth of solidarity. Some may fall away on account of the withdrawal of the priests, but it will cleanse the Church.

Q. *Attitude on the policy of education.*

A. Not opposed, unless there is an attack on Catholic religion and morals.

I have made very little comment. The bishops impressed me as devout souls who represented a huge institution that had been overtaken by overpowering forces, with which they were not familiar. That institution, with its history reaching back, in Mexico, to the coming of the Spanish—taking on many pagan features from the Indians—had been terribly reactionary, had suffered many evils to go unrebuked, had participated often in oppression, had been proud and callous in the presence of the common people—and now, in the presence of a multitude of the illiterate and landless and hopeless, was unable to measure up to the demands of the age and so was being shoved aside, as being in the way of progress. . . .

The leaders of the new Mexico are telling the church to step aside. It has failed to bring to pass what the people of Mexico are demanding—education and possession of land. The church has suffered many things, and is suffering now at points where doubtless there will be relief; but leadership has been taken away from her. . . . The leaders in government are able and earnest men, and the church has sinned away her day of grace. She must wait until she has been purified of her worldly elements and stands ready to keep out of politics and to use all her powers for the liberation of the people. The church does not seem to recognize that a program of education and reform has been begun, and seems to know only how to impede progress, at this time. Hence the necessity of shoving her aside with a hand not always gentle.

It must be remembered that the church in Mexico is quite different from the church in the States. It has practically no social program. Almost none of the clergy are socially minded. They are doing here what the clergy, naturally conservative, have done in all revolutions, not excepting our own Revolution of 1776. We must remember, too, that America, 100 years ago, was regarded by other respectable nations as a "land of revolution." We should also not forget that millions of slaves were under the yoke in our land and that the clergy defended the institution with exactly the same arguments that are now used by the privileged in Mexico. We said that "Ham was made to serve Japhet." We said that the blacks could not take on education, that they were of an inferior order, etc., etc. It took a civil war to take this nonsense and blasphemy out of us. You know what we thought of those nations on the outside who took advantage of the situation and sought to stir up trouble, as we are doing today with Mexico. The fact is, Mexico has a program—quite a definite one and should be given opportunity to work it out. A sense of honor and decency on the part of Americans should keep them from interfering and from encouraging rebellion within. In the midst of the development of national life, the clergy here are hoping to get back the position and power they have lost. This is not the best time for the United States to insist on her legal rights—over which there is considerable doubt.

SYDNEY STRONG.

P. S. The morning paper states that Bishop Diaz, of our interview, has been deported (an old-

timer speaks of it as "just a daily incident") to Havana on the ground that he had been inciting recent insurrection against the government, which had resulted in many deaths. The other two, together with other intellectual religious leaders, have been required to present themselves daily at the government offices for registration. And, so, the drama goes forward.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1927)

PART II—CHAPTER XX

Bala Sundaram

Heart's earnest and pure desire is always fulfilled. In my own experience, I have often seen this rule being verified. Service of the poor has been my heart's desire and it has always thrown me amongst the poor and enabled me to identify myself with them.

Although the members of the Natal Indian Congress included the Colonial-born Indians and the clerical class, the unskilled wage-earners, the indentured laborers were still outside its pale. The Congress was not yet theirs. They were not able to belong to it by paying its subscription and becoming its members. The Congress could win their attachment only by serving them. An opportunity offered itself, when neither the Congress nor I was really ready for it. I had put in scarcely three or four months' practice and the Congress also was still in its infancy, when a Tamil man in tattered clothes, headgear in hand, two front teeth broken and his mouth bleeding, stood before me trembling and weeping. He had been heavily belabored by his master. I learnt all about him from my clerk who was a Tamilian. Bala Sundaram—as that was the visitor's name—was serving his indenture under a well-known European resident of Durban. The master, getting angry with him, had lost self-control and had beaten Bala Sundaram severely, breaking two of his teeth.

I sent him to a doctor. In those days only white doctors were available. I wanted a certificate from the doctor about the nature of the injury Bala Sundaram had sustained. I secured the certificate and straightway took the injured man to the magistrate to whom I submitted his affidavit. The magistrate was indignant when he read it and issued a summons against the employer.

It was far from my desire to get the employer punished. I simply wanted Bala Sundaram to be released from him. I read the law about indentured labor. If an ordinary servant left service without giving notice, he was liable to be sued by his master in a civil court. With the indentured laborer the case was entirely different. He was liable, under similar circumstances, to be proceeded against in a criminal court and to be imprisoned on conviction. That is why Sir William Hunter called the indenture system almost as bad as slavery. Like the slave the indentured laborer was the property of his master.

There were only two ways of releasing Bala Sundaram: either to get the Protector of Indentured Laborers to cancel his indenture or transfer him to some one else; or to get Bala Sundaram's employer to release him. I called on the latter and said to him: "I do not want to proceed against you and get you punished. I think you realize that you have severely beaten the man. I shall be satisfied if you will transfer the indenture to some one else." To this he readily agreed. I next saw the Protector. He also agreed, on condition that I found a new employer.

So I went off in search of an employer. He had to be a European, as no Indians could employ indentured labor. At that time I knew very few Europeans. I met one of them. He very kindly agreed to take on Bala Sundaram. I gratefully acknowledged his kindness. The magistrate convicted Bala Sundaram's employer and recorded that he had undertaken to transfer the indenture to some one else.

Bala Sundaram's case reached the ears of every indentured laborer and I came to be regarded as their friend. I hailed this connection with delight. A regular stream of indentured laborers began to pour into my office and I got the best opportunity of learning their joys and sorrows.

The echoes of Bala Sundaram's case were heard in far-off Madras. Laborers from different parts of the province who went to Natal on indenture came to know of this case through their indentured brethren.

There was nothing extraordinary in the case itself, but the fact that some one there was in Natal to espouse their cause and publicly work for them gave the indentured laborers a joyful surprise and inspired them with hope.

I have said that Bala Sundaram entered my office, headgear in hand. There was a peculiar pathos about the circumstance, which also showed our humiliation. I have already narrated the incident when I was asked to take off my turban. A practice had been forced upon every indentured laborer and every Indian stranger to take off his headgear when visiting a European—whether the headgear were a cap, a turban or a scarf wrapped round the head. A salute with both hands was not sufficient. Bala Sundaram thought that he should follow the practice even with me; this was the first case in my experience. I felt humiliated and asked him to tie up his scarf. He did so, not without a certain hesitation, but I could perceive the pleasure on his face.

It has always been a mystery to me how men can feel themselves honored by the humiliation of their fellow-beings.

M. K. GANDHI.

(Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai)

Gandhi on Prayer

Here is a letter written by a student to the Principal of a national institution asking to be excused from attending its prayer meetings:

I beg to state that I have no belief in prayer, as I do not believe in anything known as God to which I should pray. I never feel any necessity of supposing a god for myself. What do I lose if I do not care for Him and calmly and sincerely work my own schemes?

So far as congregational prayer is concerned, it is of no use. Can such a huge mass of men enter into any mental concentration upon a thing, however trifling it may be? Are the little and ignorant children expected to fix their fickle attention on the subtlest ideas of our great scriptures, God and soul and equality of all men and many other high-sounding phrases? This great performance is required to be done at a particular time at the command of a particular man. Can love for the so-called Lord take its root in the hearts of boys by any such mechanical function? Nothing can be more repugnant to reason than to expect the same behaviour from men of every temperament. Therefore prayer should not be a compulsion. Let those pray who have a taste for it and those avoid who dislike it. Anything done without conviction is an immoral and degrading action.

Let us first examine the worth of the last idea. Is it an immoral and degrading act to submit to discipline before one begins to have conviction about its necessity? Is it immoral and degrading to study subjects according to the school syllabus if one has no conviction about its utility? May a boy be excused from studying his vernacular, if he has persuaded himself that it is useless? Is it not truer to say that a school boy has no conviction about the things he has to learn or the discipline he has to go through? His choice is exhausted if he had it, when he elected to belong to an institution. His joining one means that he will willingly submit to its rules and regulations. It is open to him to leave it but he may not choose what or how he will learn.

It is for teachers to make attractive and intelligible what to the pupils may at first appear repulsive or uninteresting.

It is easy enough to say, "I do not believe in God." For God permits all things to be said of Him with impunity. He looks at our acts. And any breach of His Law carries with it, not its vindictive, but its purifying, compelling, punishment. God's existence cannot be, does not need to be, proved. God is. If He is not felt, so much the worse for us. The absence of feeling is a disease which we shall some day throw off *nolens volens*.

But a boy may not argue. He must out of a sense of discipline attend prayer meetings if the institution to which he belongs requires such attendance. He may respectfully put his doubts before his teachers. He need not believe what does not appeal to him. But if he has respect for his teachers, he will *do* without believing, what he is asked to do, not out of fear, not out of churlishness, but with the knowledge that it is right for him so to do and with the hope that what is dark to him today will some day be made clear to him.

Prayer is not an asking. It is a longing of the soul. It is a daily admission of one's weakness. The tallest among us has a perpetual reminder of his nothingness before death, disease, old age, accidents, etc. We are living in the midst of death. What is the value of "working for our own schemes" when they might be reduced to naught in the twinkling of an eye, or when we may be equally swiftly and unawares taken away from them? But we may feel strong as a rock, if we could truthfully say "we work for God and His schemes." Then all is as clear as day-light. Then nothing perishes. All perishing is then only what seems. Death and destruction have *then, but only then* no reality about them. For death or destruction is then but a change. An artist destroys his picture to create a better one. A watchmaker throws away a bad spring to put in a new and useful one.

A congregational prayer is a mighty thing. What we do not often do alone, we do together. Boys do not need conviction. If they merely attend in obedience to the call to prayer without inward resistance, they feel the exaltation. But many do not. They are even mischievous. All the same the unconscious effect cannot be resisted. Are there not boys who at the commencement of their career were scoffers but who subsequently became mighty believers in the efficacy of congregational prayer? It is a common experience for men who have no robust faith to seek the comfort of congregational prayer. All who flock to churches, temples, or mosques are not scoffers or humbugs. They are honest men and women. For them congregational prayer is like a daily bath, a necessity of their existence. These places of worship are not a mere idle superstition to be swept away at the first opportunity. They have survived all attacks up to now and are likely to persist to the end of time.

M. K. Gandhi.

The American Dictator in the Philippines

The action of Governor General Wood in abolishing the Board of Control of corporations owned by the Philippine government will constitute one of the most regrettable chapters of the history of American occupation in the Philippines. Its effect upon the relationship between American sovereignty, as it is at present represented in the Philippines, and the Filipino people is far reaching for it aggravates to a degree which the great body of American people perhaps does not fully realize, the already strained relations existing between them and which it is the interest of all concerned to relieve rather than stress. Certainly it is far from conducive to mutual understanding and friendship which are the only basis for the solution of the delicate and intricate problem confronting both peoples.

The dissatisfaction among the Filipino people with Governor-General Wood's conduct is fully justified. Through the Philippine Legislature they have invested approximately $28,000,000 of capital in government owned corporations as a means of furthering the economic development of the Islands. It is only natural, therefore, that they should have a voice in the determination of policies regarding their own investments. The Board of Control, therefore, was created by which, through the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Filipino people were enabled to have such representation.

The importance of this Filipino participation in the Board may be appreciated when one recalls that since his inauguration as Chief Executive of the Philip-

pines, Governor-General Wood has made attempts to dispose of these companies to big American interests and Filipino members of the Board, exercising the right to protect the interests of the Filipino people in these corporations, blocked every such attempt. By abolishing the board, Governor-General Wood now becomes its dictator and may now do with them as he pleases.

His action is unwarranted by law and constitutes an usurpation of legislative and judicial functions. Statutes creating the Board have been in force and acted upon by executive officers of the government for more than ten years, the last five during the administration of Governor-General Wood. These statutes have neither been repealed by the Legislature, declared void by the courts, nor annulled by Congress, notwithstanding the fact that such statutes have been reported to it. On a previous occasion the Attorney-General of the United States ruled that the action of the Board of Control in fixing the rates of interest on Philippine government bonds was legal and valid. The Attorney-General of the Philippine Islands has also held that the Board of Control and not the Governor-General has the power to vote the stock of the government in the Manila Railroad Company. Despite all these facts, the Governor-General with one stroke of the pen—through a mere executive order—has set the law aside, disregarding the well established principle of constitutional government which America itself is implanting in the Philippines that determination of the constitutionality of a statute falls exclusively within the province of the courts of law.

But the most unfortunate phase of Governor Wood's conduct in this matter is his transmitting to the Legislature the opinions of the Acting Attorney General of the United States and the Judge Advocate General, upon which he based his action in abolishing the Board, immediately after and not before the closing of the session of the Legislature which, according to the former's ruling, may create another board through which the Filipino people could as heretofore be represented. For despite the fact that these opinions were received by him on November 7th, two days prior to the adjournment of the Legislature, the Governor-General saw fit to delay the publication of his executive order until November 10th, a few hours after the adjournment of the Legislature, thus depriving it of the opportunity to consider what the Acting Attorney-General regarded to be a defect in our legislation in this particular, for while the ruling declares that members of the legislature cannot be members of the board, in the same breath he asserts that the legislature may create another board, evidently aware of the right of the Filipinos to have a voice in the disposition of their own investments.

To make matters worse the Governor-General has announced his purpose to exercise alone the powers and duties of the Board of Control. This places in his hands absolute control and disposition of property belonging to the Filipino people contrary to the evident intention of the Legislature and in violation of existing laws. As has already been mentioned this has provoked widespread protest and dissatisfaction among the Filipino people. Our faith in America, however, remains unshaken for the American people are too just and too upright not to listen to the plea of the Filipino people for justice and fair dealing. But acts such as that of the Governor-General tend to undermine rather than fortify this faith. America and America alone, because she has the fate of 12,000,000 people in the hollow of her hand, can make this faith a beautiful reality to be cherished or an empty dream to be discarded.

V. G. BUNUAN.

British Labor Party Differences

William Green, Secretary of State.
Frank Morrison, Secretary of the Interior.
Daniel J. Tobin, Secretary of the Treasury.
James Duncan, Secretary of Agriculture.
Frank Duffy, Secretary of War.
Matthew Woll, Secretary of Labor.

If these men, all officers of the American Federation of Labor, had held the Cabinet offices mentioned, under President Harding, the situation of the Labor movement in this country today, would be more like the labor movement of England.

And if, besides having in the past held these Cabinet offices, labor leaders at the present time, from various parts of the United States, to the number of 150 were members of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate, and were vigorously supporting measures to promote social justice, then the situation of the labor movement in this country would be still more like it is in Great Britain.

I do not believe the movement in England is led by men particularly more honest, or earnest, or able than our leaders in this country. But the fact that the English labor leaders have held the highest and most influential positions in the kingdom, and offices of even greater importance than our cabinet offices, does give the labor forces in England a prestige which is tremendous, and quite different from anything that prevails in this country.

And the fact that English labor advocates, 150 of them, are today members of Parliament, does in many ways make the labor cause far more formidable in England than it is here.

J. Ramsay MacDonald, who was Prime Minister in 1924, and still a member of Parliament, is treasurer of the British Trade Union Council. J. R. Clynes of the Union of Municipal Workers was a member of the Cabinet, and Lord of the Privy Seal (whatever that may mean).

Arthur Henderson, now Secretary of the National Joint Labor Council, was Secretary of State of the Home Department, and is a member of Parliament now. So I might go on with the long list.

The facts about the British Labor Party which I am recounting were gathered mainly from interviews which I had with W. W. Henderson of the Labor Party, a son of Arthur Henderson, whom I met at the Headquarters of the British Labor Party at 32 Eccleston Square, and with W. A. Appleton of the Trade Union Federation, with offices at Hamilton House, Bidborough Street, London.

The labor forces of England in 1924 had 192 members in Parliament, out of the total number, 615. It was the fusing of these labor members with 185 Liberal members which formed a majority which brought about

the first labor government in the history of Great Britain, and put eight or ten labor men into cabinet positions.

During the nine months when labor carried on the government political interest in the nation, and particularly political interest in labor issues was greater than it had been in many years. Many wise laws were enacted during this time, (some stand and some have been repealed) and a great contribution was made to the political education of the people.

But, as is well-known, there was continual friction between the Liberals and the Laborites, particularly over a proportional representation bill, over a housing bill, over navy appropriations, and over proposed treaties with Russia.

A Bolshevik bogey finally brought about the fall of the MacDonald ministry, and in the election following the Conservatives and Liberals formed a pact against the Labor party in many districts. Yet not withstanding this labor elected 150 members to the present Parliament, and cast 5,487,455 votes. The Unionist combination against labor captured 412 seats with a total vote of only 7,855,775.

The point is that labor in the 1924 election cast a million more votes than it did in 1923, but elected fewer members, only because in so many districts it came up against fusion candidates, upon which Liberals and Conservatives had united.

During the past year there has been a constant disintegration of the Liberal party. Several local Liberal organizations have applied for admission into the Labor party, and have been received. Commander Kenworthy elected as a Liberal member of Parliament is the latest recruit for the Labor party. He says there is no middle ground between the Laborites and the Conservatives, and he urges all the Liberal members of Parliament to follow him into the Labor party.

In recent municipal elections in England, Scotland and Wales, the Labor party made sweeping successes in scores of cities, particularly in the industrial centers. This is another indication that in the next Parliamentary election the labor forces will be stronger than ever before, and may indeed come back into control of the government.

Trade Unionism in England received a set-back from the sympathetic strike. In my opinion it was unwarranted, and in violation of trade union law, as well as of agreements between employers and employees. If it had succeeded, perhaps I would have had a different view, you know the rime:

Treason never prospers,
What's the reason?
Why, when it prospers
None dare to call it treason.

But however much of a set-back union labor may have had from the unsuccessful strike the British Labor party is carrying on, stronger than ever. And partly because the present conservative government has failed to bring about any settlement with the coal strike, and the six months coal stoppage has brought such great damage to business interests in general.

Starving out the miners has not proven a popular policy, and while the Labor party made a mistake in the sympathetic strike, the Conservative party has made a worse one in doing nothing.

English Trade Unions for many years held strictly aloof from politics as they have in this country. To even discuss politics in a local was looked upon as an almost certain way of creating dissension, and splitting up organizations.

But in 1900 it was the British trade unions which formed the British Labor party. It cast 62,000 votes the first year. By 1918 the vote had grown to over 2,000,000. In 1923 over 4,000,000 votes were cast. In 1924 5,500,000.

It is hard for British Trade Unionists to understand why the LaFollette Progressive party casting over 5,000,000 votes in 1924, and standing for policies so similar to those of the British Labor party, has already disintegrated.

* * *

I recently visited the Headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, and was shown through the building it owns and occupies by the National Secretary, Frank Morrison. I visited the labor headquarters of many countries of Europe, but nowhere found anything that can be favorably compared with the American headquarters, a beautiful five-story office building, modern and complete in every detail, most attractively furnished and provided with a library that almost rivals that at the International Labor office at Geneva. Of particular interest to every visitor is the Gompers memorial room, filled with mementoes of the great labor advocate.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

"Work"

I am Man's best friend, I am his worst enemy—I am Work.

I am Man's best friend when he is strong enough to keep me his equal and co-laborer. Occasionally, he may allow me to become his master or his slave that he may accomplish greater things. But never for long, dare Man consider me other than his equal.

I teach Man, in the days of youth, the dignity of toil, the joy of achievement, the satisfaction of rest after labor. Taught by me, helping and helped by me, Man respects me, himself, and all who toil, be it with head or hand. I am his solace in loneliness, his comfort in sorrow, I may even be his rest in weariness.

But woe unto him who becomes my slave—it is then that I become his bitterest enemy. For I drive him on unceasingly. First, I exhaust his body, then his mind and finally his soul. When I have Man in my power thus, I laugh in fiendish glee. Nor do I cease here. My conquest goes further.

When I have subjugated Man, I force him to bring me precious tribute. First, himself; then his subordinates, and finally those nearest and dearest to him—all—all must he lay on my altar. I become his foremost—his only love.

I am Man's bitterest enemy. I am his truest friend. I am Work.

GERTRUDE GROTOPHORST.

The Study Table

Turkey and Armenia

To students of the old Armenian question, and especially to those who have followed the course of Turkish and Armenian history during the war as revealed in reports and documents, the amazing thing about this book* is the way in which it corroborates, point by point, and quite without intention or design, all the evidence and arguments upon which the Armenians and their defendants have rested their case. Indeed so far as this evidence is concerned, it seems not too much to say that the book is nothing other than Viscount Bryce's "Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire" rendered into narrative form and from the standpoint of a singularly qualified eyewitness. As usual, persons pro-Turk in sympathy and critics superficially inclined, seem disposed to make much of—to head-line, as it were—certain of the author's palliating minor statements—as, for example, "that the Regular Army of the Ottomans was entirely innocent of the Armenian massacres." But as the burden of responsibility has never formally been placed anywhere except upon the shoulders of the civil authorities, who executed their designs openly or secretly with such instruments as they found most convenient, it is difficult to see just how this particular statement affects the situation. None the less, it is with these few words selected from a volume of evidence severely and entirely incriminating, that no less a person than Mr. Mencken, for instance, challenges those sympathizers with the Armenians who have protested against the ratification of the Turkish Treaty. And it is with these same words, italicized, that Lt. Col. Edward Davis, "Dean of our Army Foreign Service," climaxes his foreword to the book.

For the dispassionate recital of the unmitigatedly barbarous, no more ideal narrator could probably be found than the author, the only Christian who, in his own words, "witnessed the Armenian massacres and deportations in an official capacity,"—as Inspector-General of the Turkish forces in Armenia. Promptly, in his first paragraph, he begins to offer explanation of the "incongruity" of his position. And from his own frank story and the information given in the foreword and in the translator's note, one deduces that Rafael De Nogales Bey, Venezuelean by birth, Spanish and Indian by blood, German by education, Latin and pro-ally by sympathy, and Orthodox Christian by religion, is really capable of integrating himself about one center of consciousness only—that of the warrior to which by habit as by heredity he seems to react automatically and, in his way, perfectly.

To dissect or to assail the make-up of an already variously seasoned military practitioner capable during the great war of offering his sword successively to Belgium, France, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey—and all in the name of chivalry—would be but to reconstitute the morally confused and practically sinister figure of the medieval soldier of fortune. A superfluous as well as a more or less graceless task, in this case, since the author has himself performed it for us, if not always consciously at least always unsparingly and graphically. Rather does advantage lie in availing one's self of the impressions of scenes and events which the curiously anomalous nature of this man permitted him to witness when, a professed lover of human liberty, "a Giaour, a Christian (and) therefore an hereditary foe to certain Turkish policies," he served as officer in the Turkish army from early 1915 until the armistice, "entered into various degrees of intimacy with most of the Young Turk leaders," traveled over the theatre of war from Constantinople to the Caucasian heights and from thence to the deserts of the south, and, among other exploits, directed the attack upon "the heroic city of Van" where "the Armenians kept on defending themselves desperately among the burning ruins of their homes and fighting to the last breath for free Armenia and for the triumph of the Holy Cross."

With energy and forthrightness, and in language as well adapted to the material as the author is to warfare, the tale is told. Impervious—for all practical purposes—to the agonies he witnessed, he can record the horrors which accompanied the slaughter and despoilment of the Armenians and other Ottoman Christians with a precision at once as cold, as vivid, and as convincing as would be their reflection in some gigantic mirror. It is this same, on the whole, detached yet keen faculty of observation that strikes one in reading his descriptions of Turkish character and official life, and the personalities of his colleagues. And in the chapters and passages descriptive of the grandiose scenery amid which the saturnalia unrolled, and of the dramatic happenings in the military and social life about him and in which he often figures, one is touched again and again to admiration by the author's power superbly to record all that spread before his eyes or entered into his experience.

Personally, Nogales Bey does not like the Armenians. Advocate of the independence of peoples and grandson of one of Venezuela's liberators though he is, he yet withholds sympathy from the historic Armenian effort for emancipation. And while acknowledging the utter corruption and incapacity of Turkish government, and "that Pan-Islamism and the eventual elimination of the Armenian and other Ottoman Christians by means of Holy War" were among the decrees by which the Young Turks won to their side that part of the Turkish public which favored neutrality, he condemns the conduct of certain Turkish-Armenian soldiers on the Caucasian frontier because (interpreting and responding to these signs and portents) they went over bodily to the side of Russia. Later, consistency at all points not being one of the Bey's concerns, one is scarcely surprised to read his condemnation of the unarmed, despoiled, and deported Armenians in the south because they did not rise against their oppressors and strike for freedom.

These, however, are the more abstract issues. Individually and socially Nogales finds the Armenians to be "ungrateful" and avaricious, marked by many characteristics he heartily dislikes. Yet he can say of them, too, that they were the civilizing nucleus of Turkey; that they are possessed of beautiful virtues, fidelity to religion and nationality being two of these; that they are models of domestic morality, the Armenian woman being a faithful wife and an incomparable mother, and the Armenian father being ready to make any sacrifice in order to give his sons a liberal educa-

*"Four Years Beneath the Crescent," by Rafael De Nogales, translated from the Spanish by Muna Lee. Published by Scribners.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

FELIX VÁLYI'S REVIEW OF NATIONS

(La Revue des Nations)

An Organ for Pan-Humanism and Spiritual Freedom

My nationalism is intense internationalism.
I am sick of the strife between nations or religions.
Mahatma Gandhi to The Review of Nations.

This new international magazine is an enterprise of universal character. Universality in the true sense of the term is our aim: universality of mind, of sympathy for all nations, universality of Knowledge and of Science, including in our field of research and study everything human, Political Science as well as History, Philosophy and Psychology of Nations as well as Economics, World Finance, International Law, Sociology of Religions, the Social Teachings of Old Civilizations as well as the sympathetic consideration of new efforts toward the Synthesis of Human Culture as a whole.

Unversality, Sympathy, Synthesis: these three words express our Religion of Knowledge, which is the Universal Faith of Progressive Mankind since the Conquest of Civilization on earth. After sixty centuries of incessant struggle of tribe against tribe, race against race, religion against religion, economic appetites against appetites, empires against empires, which constitutes the tragic History of Mankind, time is ripe for an attempt to attain Purification of the Human Soul, to attain Synthesis through Knowledge, through sympathy for the human being on earth, without any prejudice, racial or sectarian, without hatred and without contempt for anything truly human.

The Review of Nations does not want to abolish warfare: on the contrary, our determination is to declare war against Stupidity, against Ignorance, against Prejudice. We will fight against every form of economic selfishness, of high-handed imperialism, of sectarian self-adulation; against exploitation of man by man, against old and new forms of human slavery. Our Faith is Freedom of Conscience, Freedom of the Soul, Freedom of Knowledge; we are against every form of violent human bondage and subjugation by brute force. We recognize one single form of Conquest: moral and spiritual conquests. We accept one single form of bondage: moral bondage through sympathy, through the gratitude of man to another man, of one people to another.

We believe in moral and spiritual values: not in the sectarian dogmas of narrow-minded clericalism, but in the universal value of human spirituality. We do not believe that anybody, any Church or any doctrine or single person, possesses the monopoly of wisdom. We believe in the multiplicity and divine variety of the revelations in the History of Mankind. We do not believe that one single theory of human happiness has been given to a group of men or a group of races in order to impose its doctrine to the whole universe by violence and brute force. We believe in the benefits of Knowledge in the sense in which all great religions, all great thinkers, all great spiritual movements did. Spiritual Subjugation by Genius, freely accepted, is the unique form of domination which does no harm to the human soul. It means Hierarchy through Freedom, not subordination by violence.

Tremendous events have shaken Humanity on all Continents. The Orient and the Occident are under the impression of even greater events which the Future may hold in store. The Human Conscience refuses to accept the new forms of economic or social violence which are advocated in many quarters, applied in various countries, assassinating and suppressing human beings and human thoughts. The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century are shaken. Liberalism is on the road towards death. Tolerance of antagonism in all fields of human activity has ceased to be the principle of good will and good faith towards people who differ from us. It is all important to react against the stupid affirmation that Human Thought can be killed definitely under whatever form it appears.

If we look back and embrace in one gaze sixty centuries of Human Evolution (as far as History can go) we will find that violent subjugation of race by race, or class by class has always been the deepest cause of the decline and the death of nations. We will find that the most beautiful period of all civilizations is the period of creative freedom, in Art, in Science, in Economics; that such freedom is only possible if based on tolerance, on respect for others than ourself, on sympathy for the multiplicity of Human Culture. Such periods of greatness

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tion; and that in encountering them under arms at Van he found "their valor worthy of all praise."

On the other hand, Nogales does like the Turks, at least to the extent of standing sponsor to the statement that "there can be no doubt that the Turk, in spite of all his defects, is the first soldier and the first gentleman of the Orient." Yet among the various pashas, beys, and military governors with whom he was associated, Djemal, the then Secretary of the Turkish Navy and Military Governor of Palestine, he finds to have been "a cruel and exaggeratedly cowardly scoundrel with a hangman's face;" Enver, an honest man at the beginning of the war who ended by becoming "the greatest thief in Turkey with the exception of Djemal and of Ismail-Haki who were true geniuses in the art of loot;" Djevded, "although cultured and courteous as are all true Osmanli, at bottom a panther in human form, his manicured and bejeweled hands dripping with the blood of his victims;" Tchefik, "a blood-thirsty monster destitute of honor though educated in France, a member of one of the noblest families of Constantinople, and a Senator of the Empire;" Reshid, planner and organizer of the Diarbekir hecatomb; Achmed, "aristocratic of manner and blasé of expression," a notorious bandit who killed the Armenian deputies Zorab, Vartkes, and Daghavarian in the Devil's Gulch by the Governor's orders; and Khalil, Commander-in-chief of the Expeditionary Army and of the Irak-Araby forces, a knave "who connived secretly at the Armenian massacres."

This is to name some of his more intimate colleagues. Among the civil members of the Committee of Union and Progress, Nogales instances Talaat, "the renegade Hebrew, principal organizer of the massacres and deportations;" and Dr. Nazim and Ramy and Bedri Beys "who permitted themselves to be converted from upright men into ogres, their blood-stained hands laden with gold." And of a Turkish mob observed during a massacre, Nogales remarks that they were "human beasts sated with blood and laden with booty" —the women of whom "had witnessed the whole of the atrocious drama unmoved as sphinxes, seated along the streets or upon the flat roofs."

With whatever wish to be indulgent, it must be admitted that the Bey's generalities too frequently bear within themselves their own refutation. Besides, there is opportunity for disagreement with a number of his more specific readings of historical movements and events. But his extraordinary lack of personal bias, the transparency and independence of his mind, and the very rough-shodness of his method, together with his preliminary equipment as scholar, world rover, and veteran campaigner, make of this Christian-Spanish Venezuelean adventurer "with the Sultan's crescent bound upon his forehead," a witness of exceptional importance among those who have contributed findings to what actually went on in Turkey under the direction of the Government during the four orgiastic years of war.

BERTHA SULLIVAN PAPAZIAN.

have existed in old times, in spite of the contrary evidence of History as practised by historians imbued with racial or religious prejudice. Buddhism and Islam, as well as Christianity, were in their original form attempts to free the human soul and the human mind. They became forms of dogmatic bondage only when political and economic interests had mingled with the spiritual aspects of those powerful movements towards human solidarity. In Europe, the Renaissance succeeded during the Cinquecento in affranchising the human personality again, and thus European Science became the greatest moral power in the world. In Asia, the new movements of national and spiritual Renaissance tend towards the same freedom of the human individual which the European Renaissance proclaimed as the most beautiful result of Human Thought. Will human stupidity once again destroy what centuries have created? Or is there enough creative energy left in the European mind to oppose such an attempt? The Fate of the Occident depends on the answer to this question.

The Fate of the Orient too. Asia looks to Europe and to America for an example. If Western fools destroy the only basis of economic and social cooperation on earth, Tolerance and Freedom of Thought, what can we expect from the new generation of Asia, with hereditary instinct for despotism, just coming out of an age of darkness and moving towards the light which comes from Western Science. To darken again the horizon of European Thought is to throw Asia back into darkness. You have to choose.

The Review of Nations has chosen. We are determined to fight for Spiritual and Political Freedom under all circumstances. We do not admit the title-deeds of violent Government. We shall examine with good will every constructive idea and every argument of scientific criticism. Our contributors are completely free to express their opinions and to contradict us with the same good will. The Review of Nations is open to all those who can convince us of their scientific and literary competence to deal with problems of their own country, or of other countries to which they have devoted serious study. We impose only one condition; no phrase implying hatred against any nation or any class of people should be allowed. Respect for the opinions of others will be our rule of conduct. . . .

Firmly convinced of the duty it is assuming, The Review of Nations will never surrender to Prejudice and Partisanship. It will strive steadfastly to remain what it is now: an act of Faith in universal and eternal spiritual values.

FELIX VALYI.

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AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

The Abolition of Conscription in France was demanded by the 11th National Peace Congress, held at Valence sur Rhône last September. Two German delegates, Frau Schreiber, member of the Reichstag, and Professor Scheimer, were welcomed as friends of peace and of France. A resolution was adopted demanding the immediate cessation of hostilities in Morocco, and inviting the French Government to return the Syrian Mandate to the League. The Congress appealed to public opinion to impose Disarmament, declared that the individual conscience should be supreme over law in the question of war service, and called upon all who call themselves pacifists to engage themselves morally to take no part in any future war. It also called upon the workers to refuse to manufacture munitions of war. Resolutions were passed favoring the equal eligibility of all nations, for an equal period, to the Council of the League. The Congress welcomed the appearance of a new progressive French review, *La Paix*, which aims at strict impartiality. (Paris 5, place de la Sorbonne, 3.)—*From Fellowship News Sheet.*

JANUARY

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